

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
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Interviews: 1508 respondents
Dates: May 10-14, 1991

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4017
NBC News/WSJ
May 1991

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May

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[16] [17] [18]

Be sure

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes.....	10	CONTINUE	[19]
	0		
No.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		<u>3/9</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>		
Right direction.	40	55	65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	[20]
Wrong track.....	38	26	22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	
Mixed (VOL).....	17	15	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
Not sure.....	5	4	4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	

- 3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/30</u>	<u>10/19</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
			<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	-	-	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
						<u>31/90</u>	<u>21/90</u>									
Approve	74	81	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67	[21]
Disapprove	19	13	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17	
Not sure	7	6	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

- 3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
			<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>								
Approve.....	44	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	[22]
Disapprove.....	44	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure.....	12	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

- 3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		<u>3/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>							<u>9</u>		
Approve.....	76	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	[23]
Disapprove...	18	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
Not sure.....	6	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

- 3d. Do you think President Bush's health problem will or will not affect his ability to perform his job as vigorously as in the past?

Will affect his ability.....	1	[24]
	1	
Will not affect his ability.....	8	
	3	
Not sure.....	6	

- 4a. What would you say are the **two or three most important** issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about? (**DO NOT READ CHOICES. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN THREE RESPONSES. BE SURE TO CLASSIFY PROPERLY. IF UNSURE, WRITE RESPONSES BELOW. IF "ECONOMY," PROBE FOR SPECIFICS.**)

ECONOMY			<u>7/90</u>	SOCIAL PROGRAMS			<u>7/90</u>
Bank failures.....	2	[25]	NA	AIDS.....	1	[28]	4
Economy generally.....	21	>	12	Child care, day care.....	1	>	2
Farm problems, agriculture, drought	1		1	Education, schools.....	24		13
Inflation, prices.....	2		2	Elderly.....	5		5
Interest rates.....	1		1	Health care, costs.....	15		8
Jobs, unemployment.....	19		11	Homelessness.....	20		24
New industry needed.....	1		-	Housing.....	3		3
Recession.....	4		NA	Poverty/social services.....	7		6
Savings and loan industry.....	1		5	Social Security/senior citizens..	5		4
Trade, imports.....	3		3	OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS			
Wages, better jobs.....	1		2	Abortion--pro-choice.....	1	[29]	3
FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE				Abortion--pro-life.....	2	>	4
Central America.....	-	[26]	1	Affirmative action--for.....	1		NA
Defense spending--cut defense budget.....	1	>	3	Affirmative action--against.....	-		NA
Defense--strengthen.....	1		1	Crime	11		6
Eastern Europe.....	-		-	Drugs	16		25
Foreign aid--reduce.....	3		4	Environment, pollution, toxic wastes.....	7		11
Foreign policy.....	4		4	Government corruption.....	1		1
Soviet Union.....	-		NA	Gun control--for.....	1		1
Iraq.....	2		NA	Gun control--against.....	1		1
Kurdish refugees.....	-		NA	Morality/values.....	1		1
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race	2		3	Racism.....	2		2
TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING				Other (SPECIFY:)			
Budget deficit.....	11	[27]	21	_____ 5 [30] 5			
Government waste, mismanagement.....	4	>	4	_____			
Taxes--too high.....	5		9	None/not sure 4 SKIP TO Q.5. 3			
Taxes--unfair.....	3		3				
Welfare abuse.....	3		3				

4b. Of the issues you just mentioned as important, which one do you consider to be the most important? **(ALLOW ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD BELOW.)**

ECONOMY			<u>7/90</u>	SOCIAL PROGRAMS		<u>7/90</u>
Bank failures.....	1	[31]	NA	AIDS.....	-	[34] 1
Economy generally.....	10		6	Child care, day care.....	-	1
Farm problems, agriculture, drought.....	-		-	Education, schools.....	12	6
Inflation, prices.....	1		1	Elderly.....	1	2
Interest rates.....	1		-	Health care, costs.....	7	3
Jobs, unemployment.....	9		5	Homelessness.....	7	9
New industry needed.....	-		-	Housing.....	1	1
Recession.....	2		NA	Poverty/social services.....	3	2
Savings and loan industry.....	-		1	Social Security/senior citizens.....	2	2
Trade, imports.....	1		1	OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS		
Wages, better jobs.....	-		1	Abortion--pro-choice.....	1	[35] 1
FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE				Abortion--pro-life.....	1	2
Central America.....	-	[32]	-	Affirmative action--for.....	-	NA
Defense spending--cut defense budget.....	-		1	Affirmative action--against.....	-	NA
Defense--strengthen.....	-		-	Crime	4	2
Eastern Europe.....	-		-	Drugs	7	13
Foreign aid--reduce.....	1		1	Environment, pollution, toxic wastes.....	3	6
Foreign policy.....	1		1	Government corruption.....	-	1
Soviet Union.....	-		NA	Gun control--for.....	-	-
Iraq.....	1		NA	Gun control--against.....	-	-
Kurdish refugees.....	-		NA	Morality/values.....	-	1
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race.....	1		1	Racism.....	1	1
TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING				Other (SPECIFY:)		
Budget deficit.....	6	[33]	12	_____	3	[36] 2
Government waste, mismanagement.....	1		2			
Taxes--too high.....	2		3	None/not sure	2	2
Taxes--unfair.....	1		1	No most important issue.....	4	3
Welfare abuse.....	1		1			

5. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
George Bush.....	42	35	10	8	4	1	[37]
March 1991	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Mikhail Gorbachev *	13	34	25	13	7	8	[38]
March 1991	10	32	23	17	11	7	
February 1991	7	32	30	18	8	5	
July 1990	22	43	17	8	5	5	
May 1990	19	40	19	10	6	6	
December 1989	15	36	26	11	6	6	
November 1989	13	41	20	10	8	8	
Jimmy Carter *.....	16	27	28	15	12	2	[39]
Colin Powell.....	37	30	14	3	2	14	[40]
March 1991	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991	46	22	8	2	1	21	
John Sununu.....	2	12	19	20	18	29	[41]
October 1990	4	14	17	10	10	45	
Richard Nixon *	7	18	23	21	27	4	[42]
Ted Kennedy.....	8	18	21	22	27	4	[43]

* Asked of one-half the

5. (Cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Ronald Reagan *	16	22	19	17	23	3	[44]

October 1990	16	Study 2017	page 13	17	23	3	
March 1990	21	26	16	14	22	1	
November 1989	19	28	17	13	21	2	
Dan Quayle.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	[45]
March 1991	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989	7	22	26	17	21	7	

(FORM A ONLY)

- 6a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe"), the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
George Bush.....	61	67	52	[46]
Mario Cuomo.....	27	22	35	
Neither (VOL).....	3	2	3	
Not sure.....	9	9	10	

(FORM B ONLY)

- 6a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans, or Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe") and Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrats, for whom would you vote--Bush and Quayle or Cuomo and Bentsen?

George Bush/Dan Quayle.....	6	[47]
	1	
Mario Cuomo/Lloyd Bentsen. .	2	
	9	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS)

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- 6b. If anything were to happen to President Bush, would you feel comfortable or uncomfortable with Vice President Quayle being president?

		<u>9/90</u>	
Comfortable.....	34	22	[48]
Uncomfortable.....	56	69	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	5	6	

- 6c. Recently President Bush announced that Dan Quayle will definitely be his vice-presidential choice in 1992. Do you agree or disagree with President Bush's decision?

Agree.....	4	[49]
	1	
Disagree.....	4	
	9	
It's up to Bush (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	3	

- 6d. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS.)**

A) Dan Quayle is qualified right now to be president.....	1	[50]
	3	
B) Dan Quayle is not currently qualified, but with more experience he would be qualified	5	
	1	
C) Dan Quayle is not currently qualified and <u>even</u> with more experience he would not be qualified.....	3	
	3	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

7. Do you think Alan Greenspan should or should not be reappointed as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board when his term expires in August, or don't you have an opinion about that?

Should be reappointed	2	[51]
	4	
Should not be reappointed.....	1	
	7	
Don't have an opinion/not sure..	5	
	9	

8. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Better.....	37	46	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	22	24	21	22	<u>9</u>	25	[52]
Worse.....	22	20	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
Stay about the same.....	38	27	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	

9. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. At the moment, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW.)**

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Inflation.....	9	10	0	13	13	8	9	13	12	12	[53]
Unemployment.....	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23	
Interest rates.....	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4	
The federal budget deficit.....	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32	
Federal taxes.....	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15	
All equally important (VOL)...	10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	

- 10a. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/90</u>	
Good shape.....	40	43	37	[54]
Only fair shape.....	47	45	51	
Poor shape.....	12	12	12	
Not sure.....	1	-	-	

- 10b. During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Better off.....	29	36	30	31	34	[55]
Worse off.....	10	8	9	14	13	
About the same.....	59	55	59	53	51	
Not sure.....	2	1	2	2	2	

- 11a. In the past six months, have you or has anyone in your household had their income reduced because of a reduction in hours worked, lost overtime, a salary cut, or lost business?

Yes, income reduced.....	3	[57]
	0	
No, income not reduced.....	6	
	8	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A ONLY)

- 11b. **(FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST, ASK:)** Do you think **(READ ITEM)** is doing enough or is not doing enough to combat the recession? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Doing Enough	Not Doing Enough	Not Sure	
The Bush Administration.....	27	61	12	[58]
March 1991	33	55	12	
The Federal Reserve.....	27	49	24	[59]
March 1991	28	50	22	
Congress.....	12	74	14	[60]
March 1991	15	75	10	

(BOTH FORMS)

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12. Some people say dropping trade restrictions between Mexico and the U.S. will increase business and create jobs in both countries. Others say dropping trade restrictions will only result in the loss of U.S. jobs to Mexico. Which side of the issue do you agree with most?

(IF RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ONE SIDE, ASK:) Do you agree with that position strongly, or just lean toward that position?

Creates jobs for both/agree strongly.....	16	[61]
Creates jobs for both/just lean toward.....	16	
Loss of U.S. jobs/agree strongly.....	28	
Loss of U.S. jobs/just lean toward.....	19	
Not sure.....	21	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the situation in the Middle East.

- 13a. Thinking about the current situation in the Persian Gulf, do you think the war with Iraq was or was not worth it?

Worth it	7	[62]
	4	
Not worth it.....	1	
	9	
In between (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

- 13b. Do you think the United States did or did not end the war with Iraq too soon?

Did end war too soon.....	5	[63]
	4	
Did not end war too soon.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	6	

- 13c. Do you think the United States should or should not leave a military force in Iraq to protect the Kurdish refugees?

Should leave a military force.....	6	[64]
	4	
Should not leave a military force.....	3	
	0	
Not sure	6	

- 13d. If Saddam Hussein attacks the Kurdish refugees, do you think U.S. forces should or should not protect them?

(IF "SHOULD PROTECT," ASK:) And should the U.S. protect the Kurdish refugees even if it means using American ground troops?

U.S. FORCES SHOULD PROTECT THE KURDISH REFUGEES

Even if it means using American ground forces.....	6	[65]
	8	
Not if it means using American ground forces.....	1	
	0	

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U.S. SHOULD NOT PROTECT THE KURDISH REFUGEES.....	1
	3
Not sure.....	9

(FORM A ONLY)

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13e. Let me read you a number of issues facing the United States now that the war with Iraq has ended. For each, please tell me whether you think the Bush Administration is or is not doing enough in this area? **(READ ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Doing <u>Enough</u>	Not Doing <u>Enough</u>	Not <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
Withdrawing American forces in a timely fashion.....	80	14	6	[66]
Working to get Saddam Hussein out as the leader of Iraq.....	22	67	11	[67]
Working to get Iraq to pay for the damage it caused during the war.....	22	62	16	[68]
Seeking a Middle East peace conference to resolve problems between Israel and the Arab nations.....	59	29	12	[69]
Assisting and protecting the Kurdish refugees.....	70	20	10	[70]

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about domestic issues.

(BOTH FORMS)

14a. Do you think George Bush has or has not lived up to his campaign pledge to be the education president?

Has lived up to campaign pledge..	3	[71]
	0	
Has not lived up to campaign	5	
pledge.....	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

14b. Do you think it will or will not be necessary to increase the amount of federal spending on education to reform and improve our nation's education system?

Will be necessary.....	7	[72]
	4	
Will not be necessary.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	4	

14c. Would you be willing or unwilling to have your taxes raised if the additional money were to go toward improving education in your community?

Willing to have taxes raised.....	6	[73]
	4	
Not willing to have taxes raised....	3	
	2	
Not sure.....	4	

14d. Would you favor or oppose giving parents education tax credits or vouchers to pay for their children's tuition at the public or private schools of their choice?

Favor.....	5	[74]
	6	
Oppose.....	3	

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Not sure..... 8

(FORM B ONLY)

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14e. Let me read you a number of proposals the Bush Administration has made to improve education in American schools. For each, please tell me whether you think this would improve education in American schools a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	A Great <u>Deal</u>	Quit e <u>A Bit</u>	Just <u>Some</u>	Very <u>Little</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Establishing voluntary national achievement tests to monitor the performance of fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade students.....	24	18	26	27	5	[75]
Giving aid to local school districts that allow parents to choose which schools their children attend.....	20	15	25	35	5	[76]
Requiring teachers to pass competency tests on the subjects they teach.....	63	17	12	6	2	[77]
Rewarding the best teachers with special pay raises.....	38	19	17	22	4	[78]
Giving federal grants of 1 million dollars each, to start 535 experimental schools across the country.....	14	11	21	42	12	[79]

(BOTH FORMS)

15a. Do you think the federal government is currently spending too much, too little, or the right amount on fighting poverty?

Spending too much.....	1 0	[80]
Spending too little.....	6 5	
Spending the right amount.....	1 7	
Not sure.....	8	

15b. Over the past decade, do you think poverty in the U.S. has gotten better or gotten worse?

Gotten better.....	1 0	[81]
Gotten worse.....	7 8	
Stayed about the same (VOL) .	9	
Not sure.....	3	

16a. Do you personally believe abortion is wrong?

		<u>7/90</u>	<u>4/89</u>	<u>1/89</u>	<u>10/88</u>	<u>2/84</u>	<u>8/82</u>	
Yes.....	4 4	52	49	54	50	55	49	[82]
No.....	4 6	40	44	39	40	38	44	
Not sure.....	1 0	8	7	7	10	7	7	

16b. Do you think abortion should be illegal, or not?

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		<u>7/90</u>	<u>4/89</u>	<u>1/89</u>	<u>10/88</u>	<u>2/84</u>	<u>8/82</u>	
Yes.....	31	32	30	34	31	36	31	[83]
No.....	60	60	64	61	61	58	62	
Not sure.....	9	8	6	5	8	6	7	

- 17a. Do you favor or oppose a federal law to require a 7-day waiting period before an individual can purchase a handgun?

Favor.....	80	[84]
Oppose.....	16	
Not sure.....	4	

- 17b. Do you favor or oppose a law to ban the sale of assault weapons and semiautomatic rifles?

		<u>7/90</u>	
Favor.....	75	73	[85]
Oppose.....	22	23	
Not sure.....	3	4	

18. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty?

		<u>7/90</u>	
Favor.....	71	71	[86]
Oppose.....	18	20	
Not sure.....	11	9	

19. Congress is considering a law that would require companies to give employees up to three months of unpaid leave for the birth or adoption of a child, or to care for a seriously ill family member, while protecting their job. Would you favor or oppose this law, even if it means additional costs for business?

		<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	
Favor.....	72	71	69	[87]
Oppose.....	23	24	26	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	

20. Now, let me read you some specific issues. Please tell me which party better represents your views on the issue of **(READ ITEM)**--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Democrat ic Party	Republican Party	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Abortion.....	28	21	13	17	21	[88]
July 1990	27	20	17	18	18	
Family leave policy.....	30	16	9	12	33	[89]
July 1990	34	15	12	10	29	
Gun control.....	27	28	11	11	23	[90]
July 1990	26	25	15	10	24	
The death penalty.....	16	32	11	12	29	[91]
July 1990	18	29	16	11	26	

21. How would you characterize the relationship between white people and (READ GROUP LISTED BELOW)--very good, moderately good, in the middle, not so good, or poor? (RECORD BELOW AND CONTINUE WITH LIST. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Moderately Good</u>	<u>In The Middle</u>	<u>Not So Good</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Hispanics							[92]
May 1991	4	24	32	23	9	8	
Whites	4	25	32	22	8	9	
Blacks	2	13	25	33	15	12	
July 1990	5	25	35	19	7	9	
Blacks							[93]
May 1991	5	26	31	23	12	3	
Whites	5	29	31	21	10	4	
Blacks	-	11	30	33	25	1	
July 1990	6	30	30	21	10	3	
Asian-Americans							[94]
May 1991	7	29	32	15	7	10	
Whites	7	30	32	14	7	10	
Blacks	7	24	30	19	8	12	
July 1990	8	30	31	14	7	10	

- 22a. For each of these three groups, please tell me how much contact you have with them either where you live, work, or shop--a lot of contact, some contact, a little contact, or none at all. (READ GROUP AND RECORD BELOW. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A Little</u>	<u>None At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Hispanics						[95]
May 1991	25	23	30	21	1	
Whites	21	24	31	23	1	
Blacks	30	19	31	20	-	
July 1990	26	23	29	21	1	
Blacks						[96]
May 1991	41	28	22	8	1	
Whites	37	31	23	8	1	
Blacks	86	9	4	1	-	
July 1990	43	30	19	7	1	
Asian-Americans						[97]
May 1991	16	24	35	23	2	
Whites	15	25	34	24	2	
Blacks	18	15	41	26	-	
July 1990	14	24	37	23	2	

- 22b. For each of the following groups, please tell me if you feel they are receiving too many special advantages, receiving fair treatment, or being discriminated against. How about (READ GROUP)--are they receiving special advantages, receiving fair treatment, or being discriminated against? (RECORD BELOW AND ASK FOR THE OTHER GROUPS. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Special Advantages</u>	<u>Fair Treatment</u>	<u>Discriminated Against</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Hispanics					[98]
May 1991	12	48	27	13	
Whites	13	50	23	14	
Blacks	10	26	52	12	
July 1990	11	47	27	15	
Blacks					[99]
May 1991	17	45	32	6	
Whites	20	48	26	6	
Blacks	2	22	70	6	
July 1990	14	43	36	7	
Asian-Americans					[100]
May 1991	12	54	17	17	
Whites	12	57	14	17	
Blacks	19	36	29	16	

July 1990

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17

23a. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in business for blacks and other minority groups?

		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>7/90 *</u>	ABC News/Louis Harris & Associates <u>9/80 **</u>	
Favor.....	57	52	86	68	68	[101]
Oppose.....	33	37	10	18	23	
Not sure.....	10	11	4	14	9	

23b. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

The federal government should make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups to correct past discrimination.

The federal government should not make any special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minorities because they should help themselves.

		<u>White</u> <u>s</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>s</u>	
The federal government <u>should make special efforts</u>	45	39	82	[102]
The federal government <u>should not make any special efforts</u>	41	46	11	
Somewhere in between (VOL).....	10	10	6	
Neither (VOL).....	1	2	-	
Not sure.....	3	3	1	

24a. Over the course of the past five years, do you feel that race relations between blacks and whites have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>7/90</u>	
Better.....	38	40	20	37	[103]
Worse.....	22	20	39	22	
Stayed about the same.....	38	38	40	39	
Not sure.....	2	2	1	2	

24b. Compared to 10 years ago, do you think blacks in America are a lot better off, a little better off, about the same, a little worse off, or a lot worse off?

		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>7/90</u>	
A lot better off	24	26	7	23	[104]
A little better off	43	43	41	45	
About the same	17	18	15	19	
A little worse off	9	8	19	8	
A lot worse off	4	2	15	2	
Not sure	3	3	3	3	

24c. Do you think the widespread racial disturbances that occurred in this country during the 1960's could happen again now, or have conditions changed enough so that such disturbances now are unlikely?

| Whites Blacks

Racial disturbances could occur now.....	Study 40 57	Study 41 17	Study 42 page 57	Study 43 13	56	66	[105]
Disturbances now are unlikely.....	39				40	29	
Not sure.....	4				4	5	

- 25a. Thinking about civil rights laws designed to protect minorities from discrimination, which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

		<u>White</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>S</u>	
Current laws need to be toughened because they do not protect minorities well enough.....	20	14	59	[106]
Current laws are right, and protect minorities well enough..	34	37	11	
Current laws have gone too far and have resulted in unfair quotas that cause reverse discrimination against people who do not qualify as minorities.....	37	39	20	
None of these (VOL).....	3	3	3	
Not sure.....	6	7	7	

- 25b. Have you seen or heard anything about the new civil rights bill currently before Congress?

(IF "YES," ASK:) Do you favor or oppose this civil rights bill?

<u>YES, HAVE SEEN/HEARD</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>		
Favor this civil rights bill.....	8	7	18	ASK	[107]
Oppose this civil rights bill.....	5	5	5	Q.25c.	
Not sure if favor or oppose.....	5	5	7		
<u>NO, HAVE NOT SEEN/HEARD</u>	77	78	66	SKIP TO	
<u>NOT SURE IF SEEN/HEARD</u>	5	5	4	Q.26.	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SEEN/HEARD ABOUT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.)

- 25c. If this civil rights bill becomes law, do you think it will or will not affect your job or the job of someone in your household?

		<u>White</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	
Will affect.....	3	2	8	[108]
Will not affect.....	14	14	18	
Not sure.....	1	1	4	
Have not seen//heard about civil rights bill	82	83	70	

Getting to the end of our survey:

(ASK EVERYONE)

26. Have you seen or heard about the recent controversy over White House Chief of Staff John Sununu using U.S. military planes for non-official trips?

(IF "YES," ASK:) Do you think it is or is not appropriate for John Sununu to use U.S. military planes for non-official trips?

<u>HAVE SEEN/HEARD</u>		
Appropriate.....	6	[109]
Not appropriate.....	7	
Not sure if appropriate.....	3	
<u>NOT SEEN/HEARD</u>	1	
Not sure.....	3	

27. Let me ask you about some stories that have been in the news lately. For each one, please tell me whether you think the news media has acted responsibly or gone too far on this story. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Media Has Acted <u>Responsibly</u>	Media Has <u>Gone Too Far</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Senator Ted Kennedy and his family's conduct in Palm Beach.....	33	61	6	[110]
Last weekend's coverage of Dan Quayle's ability to handle the job of president.....	39	51	10	[111]
Senator Chuck Robb's private life.....	13	41	46	[112]
Charges of Senator Al D'Amato using his office to gain government contracts for his supporters	54	15	31	[113]
Revealing the name of the woman allegedly raped at the Kennedy Palm Beach home.....	18	75	7	[114]
John Sununu's use of U.S. military planes for non-official trips.....	68	22	10	[115]

28. Who do you like better as first lady--Barbara Bush or Nancy Reagan?

		<u>9/89</u>	
Barbara Bush.....	76	58	[56]
Nancy Reagan.....	9	19	
Both equally (VOL).....	7	7	
Neither (VOL).....	5	7	
Not sure	3	9	

29. Recently there have been charges about a report that during the Reagan-Carter presidential campaign that officials in the Reagan campaign had discussions with Iranian officials about delaying the release of the American hostages until after the election. Some people say that there should be an investigation by Congress. Others say that this is past history and there is no need to investigate. Which comes closest to your point of view?

There should be an investigation.....	46	[146]
There is no need to investigate.	48	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure	4	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	[116]
Somewhat liberal.....	2	
	0	
Moderate.....	2	
	8	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	4	
Very conservative.....	8	
Haven't thought about it.....	1	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	

- F2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[117]
	6	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	6	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	8	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Republican.....	8	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	5	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	5	
Other.....	3	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	2	[118]
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	

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Vocational training, 2-year college.....	10
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	20
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2
2-3 years' postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	9
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2
Not sure.....	-

F4. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	45-49.....	8	[119]
25-29.....	9	50-54.....	7	
30-34.....	13	55-59.....	7	
35-39.....	12	60-64.....	7	
40-44.....	11	65 and over.....	17	
		Not sure/refused.....	1	

F5. What type of work do you do? **(WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)**

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____

-----OFFICE USE		
Professional/manager.....	22	[120]
White collar worker.....	26	
Blue collar worker.....	20	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	19	
Unemployed.....	1	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

F6. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	12	[121]
Labor union household.....	8	
Non-union household.....	78	
Not sure.....	2	

F7. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	1 9	[122]
Married.....	6 3	
Separated.....	2	
Divorced.....	8	
Widowed.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	[123]
	0	
Catholic.....	3	
	2	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	2	
	0	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	8	[124]
	2	
Black.....	1	
	0	
Hispanic.....	4	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	6	[125]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	9	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	0	

F11. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[126]
	3	

May we please have your initials for validation purposes?
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[128]

[129]

[130]

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

~~~~~  
~~~~~

RECORD THE FOLLOWING--DO NOT ASK!

Telephone Number--Get from Call Sheet:

AREA									
[131]	[132]	[133]	[134]	[135]	[136]	[137]	[138]	[139]	[140]
]]]	

Call Attempt:

First call..... 1 [143]
Second call..... 2
Third call..... 3

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED

ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE
SIGN): ~~~~~

Validated
By: ~~~~~ Date: ~~~~~
~~~

Validator: Record a  
"1"

|  |
|--|
|  |
|--|

[144]